הרצאה לבינ"ל – הסטוריה דיפלומטית של ישראל

אפשר היה גם לבנות את זה לא כרונולוגית לגמרי אלא איזה אתגרי מדינאות בכל תקופה ודוגמאות

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| --- | --- | --- |
| תקופה | אתגרים | פעולות |
| כללי | תמיד השגת לגיטימציה  הכרה בינ"ל  שלום  קשר עם מעצמה  מיקום גיאופוליטי - מדיני, כלכלי(אי)- מעדל העוינות  אחריות לעולם היהודי – גם נכס | ריאליזם  בטחון קודם לכל  שלום לשבירת מעגל העוינות |
| לפני המדינה | השגת לגיטימציה בינ"ל לבית לאומי | הרצל – צ'רטר  ויצמן – בלפור שנכנס למנדט  181 |
| סביב הקמת המדינה ושנות ה-50 | ביסוס הישגי המלחמה  טיפול בירושת המלחמה (פליטים, גבולות, ירושלים)  ברית עם מעצמה  עלייה  מאבק במעגל האיבה בראשות נאצר  הטרור מירדן  הגנה על ירדן | הסכמי שביתת הנשק  המאבק באו"ם כולל 194  הקבלה לאו"ם  היחסים עם צרפת  ברית הפריפריה  הקשרים עם ארה"ב  הקשרים באפריקה  בסוס האוריינטציה המערבית |
| שנות ה-60 | החזית הדרומית והצפונית  החלטה 242  מלחמת ההתשה | בסוס היחסים עם ארה"ב |
| שנות ה-70 | מלחמת ההתשה ושליחויות התווך  טפול בפוסט  יחסים שלום עם מצרים | שלום עם מצרים |
| שנות ה-80 | האתגר הלבנוני – פתח וא"F חיזבאללה |  |
| שנות ה-90 | האתגר הפלסטיני – עם ירדן ובלעדיה  (האינתיפאדה הראשונה) –לחץ והזדמנות (מלחמה קרה)  ניצול ועידת מדריד  הפיגועים  בניית מדינה פלסטינית – מול לחץ מבית ושלהם | מדריד  יחסים עם רוסיה, הודו, סין,  אוסלו הועידות הכלכליות  הסכם שלום עם ירדן |
|  |  |  |
|  |  |  |
| 2010-1015 | המאבק הפלסטיני באו,ם  תכנית הגרעין האיראנית  הידרדרות היחסים עם תורכיה  ההזדמנויות באסיה  דה לגיטמציה |  |

Major points

A lot you know

background for today

point of view of a Diplomat

an island in a problematic geo-strategic locations

pre state

* Hertzel - Charter

Balfour declaration

Mandate (san remo conference and league of nations)

The partition rplan (unscop) and resolution 181

The letter subsequently became known as the [Balfour Declaration of 1917](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balfour_Declaration_of_1917). It stated that the British Government "view[ed] with favour the establishment in [Palestine](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palestine) of a national home for the Jewish people".

First years

The war: borders (green line), Jerusalem, refugees

Resolution 194

*Resolves* that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible

Armistice agreements

1949 – admition to UN

Reparations agreement with West Germany

Challenge: diplomatic relations

**The Fifties**

Western orientation ( anti – communist, knocking on every door, than Korea)

Cooperation with France (1955-1966)

The periphery Doctrine

Strong presence in Africa (anti-colononialism)

Te Sinai Campaign

The Sixties

The PLO establishment

1967 war and resolution 242 – peace for land formula

The Khartoum conference

War of Attrition

The Jarring mission

Black September (1970)

Relations with US

Full relations with Germany (1965)

The Seventies

The rise of the Palestinian isuue

The Yom kippur war and resolution 338

Geneva conference, Kissinger Shuttle diplomacy – disengagement of forces agreement

The oil crisst and the breaking off relations

UN resolution 3375

The Camp David Accords

The Autonomy plan

The Litani operation and resolution 425

The creation of UNIFIL and the blue line

The eighties

The Venice declaration (1980)

The Fahd plan

The Lebanon war and its aftermath

1983- Israel-Lebanon agreement

the London agreement

The First Intifada

The nineties

The Madrid conference. The two tracks. The Wasgington talks

The diplomatic breakthrough – USSR, India, China

The repealing of 3375

The Oslo Chanell

Decleration of Principals

The interim agreement – the Paris agreement

1994 – Peace with Jordan

The MENA Economic summits

Relations with Qatar, Oman, Morocco, Tunisia

1997 – The Hebron protocol, TIPH, H1 H2

The Argentina Bombings

2000- 2009

Withdrawal from Lebanon – 425 - Sheba farms, Rajar

WEOG

Camp David II (September)

The Second Intidada

The Clinton Parameters

The Taba talks

2001 – Durban conference

9.11.2011

2002- the road map, the quartet (the quartet rules)

The Arab initiative

2003 – war in Iraq

2004 – Death of Arafat

2005 – The Bush letter and the disengagement plan

2006 – Hamas victory in elections and taking over of Gaza )2007(

2006 – the second Lebanon war and resolution 1701 (UNIFIL II)

2007 – Annapolis conference. The Olmert Negotiations

2009 – operation cast led. The Goldstone report.

2009 – the Bar-Ilan speech

The Cairo speech – Obama

2010 - today

2010 - The Mavi Marmara

2012 – Palestinian status upgrade at UN

2013 – Pillar of fire

2014 – the Kerry initiative

2015 – Agreement with Iran

**MFA situation**

Not according to Vinograd

Bad image

Buudget cuts

Othrt players in diplomacy: special emissaries, mosad, MOD (Gilad), relations with US, political appointees

Collecting information

Historical factors

Security dominance- more threats. More successes

Already first decade (Sharett- Ben-Gurion)

Realism – UM SHMUM

93-96 – an illusion

Global phenomenon – state department' heads of state becoming diplomats

Decision making process in Israel (improvised, political, personal, and reactive)

Political factors

The triangle – PM, FM, DM – problematic

Worst when PM is Defense minister (Ben-Gurion, Peres)

Foreign minister from a different party or a rival

PM need legitimacy – support of Army

Personality – EBAN Sharet considered weak, others not fit, Peres was strong but also worked alone

No clear political goals vis a vis clear military goals

Institutional factors

Resources – people (400 diplomats), budgets (1\36), knowledge (information monopoly)

Lack of transparency

Internal problems:

Lack of courage and initiative

Revolving door

leaks

**Current challenges**

General observations

Just a few

Changes in global and regional arenas

Focus on challenges- major achievements – relations with 159 countries, OECD, valuable to Jordan and Egypt, good relations in the Mediterranean, relations with US, partner with Europe, Asia, Canada and australia etc…

Major development- Global

Regional

The Iranian challenge

Regional:

Support of Hezbollah – arms, money

Support of Hamas and Islamic Jihad

Nuclear: The JCPOA agreement flawed:

Iran as a threshold state – legitimacy for a program in the medium and long range - further proliferation in the ME

Lifting of sanctions - Economic boom into terrorism

Lack of access request mechanism - (24 days – could become much more)

Conflict resolution mechanism

Poor enforcement mechanism – all or nothing if violation, snap back sanctions - deterrence

Removal of arms embargo and restrictions regarding ballistic missiles (abolishing UN resolution – no enforcement) the arms and missile program sanctions

PMD – no condition for agreement

R and D of advanced centrifuges

Palestinians

Current paradigm not viable (core issues, end of claims, two nation-states)

Complete lack of trust between leaders

Palestinian strategy – changing the rules of the game- settlement enforcement from the outside:

Legal-diplomatic warfare – joining the ICC by accession to the Rome Statute (war crimes, settlements, preliminary examination ), against: not a state, complimentarity, other NATO members Russia and US not joined

Other bodies, using multilateral organizations - commission of human rights, FIFA

Security Council resolution (end of occupation in three years, failed December 14)

Securing recognition as a state

Background:

Abu Mazen week and heritage struggle

Terrorism – new Intifada

Security cooperation

Where to go from here?

Improving the socio-economic situation

Interim arrangements

Unilateral steps (into the fence)

State with temporary borders

The Gaza dilemma

Quite vs. empowerment

Rehabilitation of Gaza

Middle-East – general

Non state actors' non governable areas, no address

Syria – dealing with disintegration, involvement of Iran and Hezbollah stronger non state actors on the Golan, separation of forces agreement and future of UNDOF

IS – Iran status enhancer, potential threat to Jordan, at this point not a direct threat but on Sinai and Gaza – against Hamas might become problematic

Egypt – enhanced cooperation – the Sinai challenge – address?

The pragmatic camp – how far can they go openly – Arab peace initiative?

Global challenges

Relations with US

Background: Historical foundation

Special relations (since Kennedy)

Strategic +values

Strong relations with government (especially congress) and people

Major support – Military (qualitative military edge, economic, diplomatic

Growing over time – heighy in 60-70

There were crisis before (Rogers, polard, Shamir and Baker…Aiwax)

Jewish community important (Democrats), rise of AIPAC

Background: recent years

Deterioration in recent years

Problems between leaders or more?

Palestinians and Settlements – joining the UNSC?

Iran nuclear agreement

Explenation:

President with progressive views

US weary of fighting, pivot to Asia – in the ME- containment, working with partners, downgrading presence (also security budget cuts)

Energy independence

Growing bipartisanship (big challenge for Israel)

Demographic changes: Minorities and immigrants (challenge for Israel - + evangelist, liberal and academia voices, young generation among Jews , Jewish organizations

Remember Canada…

Relations with Europe

Want to be more involved in light of stalemate (Mogherini)

EU – countries dynamics

A growing rift with leadership and public on Settlements

Enhanced cooperation agreement (2007) – frozen on 2009

2013 – Guidelines for EU grants on any agreement not on settlement Horizon 2020 program

Vetrinray services in the west bank

Labeling settlements products

Area c

Support of NGO's

Recognition – Sweden, Parliaments

Background:

Historical reasons for relations: leaders, Mandate, Holocaust

Major trade partner – third of trade, R&D, defence cooperation

Association agreement (1995) replaced FTA

Internal crisis - political, economic, not a strategic actor, different agendas( immigrants' Ukraine) – Israel – a consensus

Rise of Islam in Europe

Rise of anti-Semitism

Rise of social media influence on politicians – BDS

No serious Israeli Lobby

Russia

Growing activity in the Mediterranean

Complicated relationship

Shared interests: radical Islam, technology' Russians in Israel, Syria chemical

Opposing: weapons sale, Iran and Assad against radicals, anti western and us, Palestinians -Hamas)

Global – new opportunities:

The east – India (new government), China (technologies) and also Vietnam, Korea, Japan

New periphery (gaz, Turkey, security and military, tourism, projects (electricity) Greece- patriarch in Jerusalem)

Energy diplomacy

New agendas (desertification, medicine, agriculture, economic (OECD)

De –legitimization

What are we talking about?

The three D's – not every criticism – demonization, double standards, basic de-letimization

Attempt to make Israel pariah state, South Africa model

Denying the right to exist as a Jewish state

To limit its ability to defend itself

Major arenas: Diplomatic, media, economic, cultural, legal

Problem mainly in Europe

Background:

Origins – the Durban world conference against Racism (2001) became anti-Zionism festival. 2005 NGO's call to BDS

Collaboration of Palestinians organizations' radical elements in the west including far left, anti-Semitic elements, Islamic movements, churches, unions

Rise of NGO'S and social media

BDS

Mainly economic' cultural, academia

Lawfare

The use of legal mechanism in the UN and outside in order to deny Israel's legitimacy to defend itself – not only our problem

The Goldstone report

Universal jurisdiction (belguim, spain., uk)

Committee on human rights

Overall assessment:

Mixed results – economic – micro (Jordan valley) not macro, a few artists – most arrive, not a huge popular movement, not a big campus deal – students not professors, resolutions in Campuses not binding and not official

debate: How much a real problem?

Multilateral scene

Problems:

Starting in the sixties -Number of resolutions, bodies, resources

Explanation: parliament, otomatic majority

Politicization of professional bodies

Committee of Human Rights - more than half, Goldstone, Shaves

UNWRA

Peace keeping forces – problematic behavior

Positive

WEOG 2000

Positive agenda

Good relationship with secretariat

Entrepreneurship resolution and much more

Potential

More challenges

Arms control – especially Non conventional treaties

Public diplomacy and Branding – soft power

Jewish world (anti-Semitism, Holocaust remembrance and young generation)

Economic cooperation

Development diplomacy